5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

spacious chafes his spirit and he looks with contempt and pity on the poor creatures that are willing to spend their days in the narrow confines of a town. This pity is for the cultivator and equally for the land-owner and the merchant, who so far worship their bodies that they will swathe them in silk and deck them with gold, a thing permissible for women, but contemptible for a man. The hardest work of the desert Arab is concerned with leading his flocks and with breaking up and repitching camp. As a result, he develops a great distaste for manual labor. He regards it as degrading, and no small amount of his dislike for life in a town rests on that fact. Digging up the ground, patiently caring for plants and crops, and all the work of the agriculturist he looks on as beneath him. Free men were created for something better than that.

It is the impression of a stranger to the country that not a blade of grass or a single date palm could be raised in all Arabia except in the oases where the gardeners work. The Arabs tell us that this is far from the truth. There are many places where water can be found close to the surface and where gardening could be carried on profitably. In connection with the *Akhwan* movement of puritan Wahabi Mohammedanism that has swept over all inland Arabia in the last few years, one of the efforts of the leaders has been to settle a certain number of the new converts in towns and villages. Altogether some sixty-five new settlements have been started since the inception of the movement. Doubtless most of these are very small, but there are a few of considerable size, and two or three are small cities of perhaps five thousand inhabitants. The Arabs insist that there are many other such places, where communities might spring up

l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

CHAPTER XI

Faith and Prayer

The Badawin proper are all Sunnis, either of the Hanbali or Maliki schools, as opposed to the Shi'ahs of Iraq, the Zaidis of Yaman and the Biyathiyahs of Oman and adjacent country.

Though fierce in battle and ever ready to raid and kill, the Badawin has one of the strictest codes of honour in the world. His belief in the One Great Almighty God, Indivisible, All-seeing and Ever-present, is impressive.

Throughout his life the name of God is constantly on his lips, and heard in almost every sentence he uses. Recurrent phrases are:

(*a*) ***Wallah, Billah, Eh Billah Wallahi*** (all meaning "By God") to emphasise that he speaks the truth.

(*b*) ***Fi'aman Illah***—In the peace of God.
Hafath-kum Allah—God guard you.
Fida'at Allah—In the custody of God.
To speed a parting friend or guest, and as general terms of farewell.

(*c*) ***Tawaqal al Allah***—Put your trust in God.
Tawaqal-na al Allah—We put trust in God.
At the commencement of an undertaking, or journey, etc.

(*d*) ***Allah Karim***—God is merciful.
To express resignation, or hope, when things seem to be going wrong, etc.

(*e*) ***Sa'ad-kum Allah***—God assist you.
Gauwak Allah abbreviated to ***Al Guwa***—God strengthen you. Used by way of greeting and to encourage a person doing some special work.

(*f*) ***La haula wa la quwata illa b'Illah al 'aali w'al athim.***—There is no might nor majesty except in God the most High and Wonderful.
To express astonishment at some strange sight, etc.

(*g*) ***Stakhfar Allah***—God forbid.
La-ila-il-l'Allah—There is no God but God.
To ward off evil, etc.

The Badawin, like every Arab or true Muslim, believes that every-

l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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CHAPTER XLI

The Sulubba

The word *Sulubba* is a generic term. The singular of the name is *Sulubbi*, and the plural *Sulaib*. 565 619

Much has been written about this low-class tribe, or more properly community.

They are found all over the northern half of the Arabian Desert roughly from a line drawn east and west through Madina and Riyadh in the south, to another line drawn from Aleppo to Mosul.

In the south they are more despised and looked down on than in the north, and their worldly possessions are less.

Practically every tribe within the area described has a community [463] of Sulubba living with it, as they are found useful as menders of pots and pans, hunters and trackers.

Chief among the Sulubba's characteristics is their uncanny knowledge of the secret water-holes of the country they live in. They are [721] valued for this knowledge by the tribe which protects them, as it is a great asset in war, and most useful on long raids. Some Sulaib, for this reason, are nearly always taken with a raiding party.

Similarly a Sulubbi hunter is nearly always to be found in the [224] entourage of a shaikh, as he usually knows better than others where gazelle and ostrich are to be found.

The Sulubba are said to be Muslims, but few pray properly, and it [795] would probably be true to say that they possess no religion, except when it is diplomatic to appear to have one as in Najd and Kuwait.

The Sulubba men are in general a miserable fawning lot; they affect endearing and diminutive Arab terms of address, and are cringing in their manner.

Both men and women are good-looking above the average, especially the women, among whom there are often very pretty girls indeed. Their usually half-starved appearance is repellent, and gives colour to the Arab story that they eat offal and "animals they find dead".

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Bedouins MJ4
Muntafiq

Donkey Riders

Add to the above the Zubairiyah, a Zubair sheep tribe, and the Zauba and Rufai'at, who are of Shammar origin, both of whom in good years join up with the Muntafiq shepherds and move southwards with them, and you have a fairly complete list of the Euphrates Shawíyah lying east of Samawa.

These tribes, though they move about on donkeys, which are more suitable beasts of burden for men owning slowly moving flocks of sheep, are in no way to be confused with the low-class Sulubba fraternity, which are found all over Middle and North Arabia. The latter are the outcasts of the Peninsula, while the shepherd tribes are for the most part of good Arab stock, and some can give and take women from the best tribes of Iraq.

The shepherd tribes are all Shi'ah by persuasion and so are not much liked by the pure-blooded Badawin of the high desert. Nevertheless, they are tolerated and even welcomed by the latter each year, since they bring with them cheap mutton, excellent *dehen* (clarified butter), much wool for tents and red and white sheepskins, always in demand for camel saddle-coverings.

With each annual rainy season the shepherd tribes move south into the gravelly desert some 200 miles or more from the Euphrates. They divide into two waves when they reach the Bátin valley, one wave moving down through Kuwait state into the Kuwait Neutral Zone and beyond,* and the other going down as far south as the Tawál al Dhafir and Tawál al Mutair, or scattering over the Al Hajara region, which speaking roughly lies along both sides of the Iraq–Sa'udi Arabia frontier line.

Speaking generally, but this is not an invariable rule, the Zauba–Bani Salama, Ghazzi, Budur, Ghazalat and Zaiyad tribes keep to the west of the Bátin while the Sharaifat, Juarín, Bani Malik, Albu Salah and 'Aunan pass through Kuwait and south along the coast of the Persian Gulf.

The best of the shepherd tribes from a fighting point of view are perhaps the Budur, the Juarín and the Ghazzi, whose Shaikhs Shirshab al Sahan, Nasir al Gubaih (son of the more famous Husain al Gubaih of Great War days) and Manshad al Habaiyib I count among some of my oldest friends of the southern desert. I had many a political

* In bad years the southern limit is Jahrah at the head of the Bay of Kuwait.

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Muntafiq

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dismemberment, accompanied by regrouping, is the process which governs all Arab tribal evolution. Within the Bani Malik are two ancient and powerful federations which have from time immemorial been at strife, the Bani Khaiqan and the Mujarrah. There is some doubt as to whether either is of Bani Malik stock, which may account for the secular feud which exists between them.* The Bani Khaiqan are at present gathered under the hold of the Al Mughashghash, a clan of one of their largest sub-tribes, but the Mujarrah are split into a number of inferior groups and have no common head.

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The history of the Muntafiq league is inseparably linked with that of the Sa'adun. The very name of Muntafiq, as used in 'Iraq, refers only to the ruling family and to its slaves and dependants who are reckoned to be an integral part of it. No tribesman in 'Iraq would call himself Muntafiq though he might use the word if he were in Mecca or Damascus where his own small tribe would be unknown, while the fame of the Muntafiq would be familiar to every Arabic-speaking community. The position of the Sa'adun, a matter of considerable importance in Southern Mesopotamian politics, has been determined partly by their origins and partly by Turkish official ignorance or intentional misunderstanding of their relation to the tribes. It must be borne in mind that the Sa'adun belong to the social order of the desert and have not succumbed to the local influences which have affected the tribal population of 'Iraq, who are, like themselves, immigrants from Arabia, but usually immigrants of an earlier period, and as settlers on the soil have been brought into more intimate contact with Mesopotamian traditions. The Sa'adun have preserved the characteristics of Badawin Arabia. They are Sunnis and Ahl al Baiyir, people of the camel; their *dirahs* are in the Hamad west of the Hai or south of the Euphrates, where they have dug or re-opened wells in their accustomed camping grounds. Here they repair after the early rains, and here they assume their natural part as independent chieftains of the desert. The 'Iraq tribes, who have acknowledged them as overlords, differ from them in every particular. They are Shi'ahs, settled or half-settled cultivators and marshmen, whose link with the desert people has long been broken; socially inferior,

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* The Bani Khaiqan are said to be originally 'Ajwad and the Mujarrah to be Bani Sa'id.

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APPENDIX I

DIVISIONS OF MUTAIR, 'AJMAN, 'AWAZIM, RASHAIDA, SHAMMAR AND 'ANIZAH TRIBES

TOGETHER WITH THEIR SHAIKHS, NUMBER OF TENTS, STRENGTH, AND CHARACTERISTICS, ETC.

MUTAIR (Singular MUTAIRI)

The Tribe is divided into three main groups:

(A) AL DUSHAN (Ruling or Shaikhly Clan).
(B) AL 'ILWAH.
(C) AL BURAIH.

Paramount Shaikh—AL DUWISH (from Shaikhly Clan of AL DUSHAN).
Present incumbent (1937)—BANDAR BIN FAISAL BIN SULTAN AL DUWISH.
Fighting strength—May be taken at 6,000, though inner Najd figures are very doubtful.

Habitat—In winter the Dushan Mutair 'Ilwa and Aulad Wasil sections of the Buraih as opposed to Aulad 'Ali and Bani 'Abdilla (who are purely inner Najd sections) range from the Dahana sand belt *in the south* up to Kuwait *in the north*, and more or less keep to the eastern side of the Bátin. They avoid the 'Ajman and 'Awazim tribal country in the coastal region of Hasa province, and claim that the great well areas of Subaihiyah, Tawil and the environs of Kuwait fall within their grazing areas and have done so from time immemorial. In summer above-mentioned groups camp on the well-known wells at Artawiyeh, Qarya, Hafar al Bátin, Safa, Qara'a, Wabra, Jariya Ilya, Jariya Sifla.

Religion—Sunni MALIKI (late Ikhwan).

(A) The DUSHAN or Ruling Clan, has no subdivisions but only certain leading families.

(B) The 'ILWAH MUTAIR group, subdivided into the—
(1) AL MUWAHA and their subsections.
(2) AL THAWIAUN and their subsections.
(3) AL JIBLAN and their subsections.

(C) The BURAIH MUTAIR group is likewise subdivided into the—
(4) 'AULAD WASIL and their subsections.
(5) 'AULAD 'ALI and their subsections.
(6) BANI 'ABDILLA and their subsections.

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Appendix I

State as far south as the Tawal-al-Mutair (or Junáb), i.e. Safa, Wabra, Jariya Ilya and Jariya Sifla in Sa'udi Arabian territory. 619 101 221

In summer it camps on wells at Jahrah, Um Niga, Subaihiyeh, Tawil and sometimes at Wafra and 'Ark. A number of Rashaida is employed by the Ruler of Kuwait as "Fidawiyah" or paid mercenaries, and all the court falconers are found from the tribe. [795]

Religion—Sunni MALIKI.

The following are the names of sections, with their shaikhs and the number of tents each possess: 619 101

AL 'AJARIMA—Shaikh 'ABDULLA IBN RIMTHAN (30 tents).
AL 'AWANA—Shaikh SA'AD IBN DUGHAIM, 'ABDULLA IBN 'AWAIYID (80 tents).
AL DALUL—Shaikh FAHAD IBN HUJAILAN (30 tents).
AL FAZARIN—Shaikh FALAH IBN HADBAH (30 tents).
AL GHURAIBAT—Shaikh SA'AD IBN MAZAID, AL WUSHAIMAN (60 tents).
AL HIRSHAN—Shaikh MASHA'AN IBN SHALLAL (90 tents).
KA'AMIYAH or CHA'AMIYAH—Shaikh SA'UD IBN QURAINIS (15 tents).
MATAWILAH—Shaikh HAMADAN IBN HUMAIYIR (30 tents).
MUHAIZIMAT—Shaikh SALIH IBN NIMRAN (80 tents).
MUWAIZIRAH—Shaikh SA'UD AL MUWAIZIRI (30 tents).
RAMATHIYIN—Shaikh KAMAN IBN SHUHAIYID (15 tents).
SHAHARA—Shaikh NASIR IBN 'ALI AL SHAHARI (15 tents).
SHUWAIKHAT—Shaikh NASIR IBN HUQTA (20 tents).
Also important sections 'ULAIYAT and 'UTHIBAT.

Corrected up to 21.4.37.

GENERAL REMARKS

This tribe officially belongs to Kuwait and is under nominal control of Ibn Subah. Tribally speaking, however, it is a serf tribe of the great Mutair, much in the same manner as the 'Awazim were of the 'Ajman in the olden days. With the final transference of the Mutair's allegiance from Kuwait to Najd after Shaikh Mubarak's death, the Rashaida were placed in the unfortunate position of being separated from their protectors and allies, and had to try and serve two masters. 641 619

Unlike the 'Awazim, they are very proud of their Mutair connection. They are fine fighters and can always count on Mutair protection if they move into Najd for grazing purposes. The tribe is a poor one and is engaged mostly in camel and sheep rearing. They possess about 9,000 camels and 10,000 sheep. [233]

Not being a Sharif tribe, they can only marry with Non-Sharif tribes such as the 'Awazim. Their women are remarkable for their good looks, 619